/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are indeed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
221 and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mesques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!

[162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/260 cont./

779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, lfçal uwergh, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from Don Quichotte /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of sworn law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

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1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Âzzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter [784] two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to [778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

/414 cont./

present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain. Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

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Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

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/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--654 Z-5 (ca.1950)1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

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Benches at Usikis (Idma)

Pl. VIII

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
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241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

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623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
625 most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses, the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

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1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*farīqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis: